

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM USMISSION USNATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1764
INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
ALL NATO CAPITALS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 USNATO 05108

E.O.11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: NATO, PORG
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY: UNCLASSIFIED PAPER
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REF: USNATO 4927

1. INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT HAS PROVIDED A DRAFT OF
PUBLIC NATO DOCUMENT ON ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST
RELATIONS. DRAFT STRIKES US AS PROVIDING GOOD PRELIMINARY
BASIS FOR DEVELOPING SUCH A PAPER.

2. WHILE IT IS SHORT, IT MANAGES TO MENTION A NUMBER OF
MAJOR THEMES APPROPRIATE FOR PUBLIC DISSEMINATION IN A
NATO DOCUMENT. CONSULTATIONS ARE NOT MENTIONED. WE WOULD
EXPECT TO INTRODUCE LANGUAGE ON THAT POINT AS WELL AS ON
POINT THAT DETENTE CANNOT BE SELECTIVE.

3. IN OUR VIEW LONGER DOCUMENT COULD, OF COURSE PROVIDE
BETTER INSIGHTS INTO ISSUES COVERED IN EAST-WEST STUDY,
BUT SUCH A DOCUMENT WOULD HAVE THE DISADVANTAGE OF NOT
BEING AS READILY ASSIMILABLE BY THE PRESS. SHORT DOCU-
MENT HAS GREATER CHANCE OF BEING PICKED UP VERBATIM AND,
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ASSUMING IT MAKES ALL THE POINTS WE WANT IT TO MAKE, IT
HAS, THEREFORE, A DECIDED ADVANTAGE.

4. WE ALSO BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO ISSUE THE PUBLIC
ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY PAPER ON THE 31ST AS A
COMPANION PIECE TO THE COMMUNIQUE AND THE LTDP PUBLIC
RELEASE. IN OUR VIEW IMPACT OF SUMMIT WILL BE GREATEST

WHILE ALLIED LEADERS ARE STILL IN WASHINGTON.

5. IT WAS CLEAR FROM DISCUSSION THAT FRENCH, BELGIANS AND OTHERS WOULD NOT RPT NOT AGREE TO RELEASE OF SANITIZED VERSION OF PART III. INDEED WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO ISSUE A MUCH LONGER DOCUMENT WITHOUT REOPENING LENGTHY DEBATE WE HAVE JUST CONCLUDED ON THE EAST-WEST STUDY ITSELF. GIVEN TIME CONSTRAINTS WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD WORK FROM THE IS DRAFT ATTEMPTING TO IMPROVE IT, BEEFING IT UP WHERE NEEDED, BUT NOT ATTEMPTING TO HEAD OFF IN AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT DIRECTION. ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON CONCURRENCE IN OUR PROPOSED APPROACH.

6. BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT UNCLASSIFIED VERSION OF EAST-WEST STUDY:

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- ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS
- SECRETARIAT DRAFT PAPER FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION

AT THE MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN LONDON IN MAY LAST YEAR "ALLIED LEADERS REQUESTED THE COUNCIL IN PERMANENT SESSION TO MAKE A FRESH STUDY OF LONG-TERM TRENDS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND TO ASSESS THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE." ALL THE ALLIES HAVE ACTIVELY CONTRIBUTED TO THE STUDY, THROUGH
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PAPERS PREPARED IN CAPITALS, INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM HIGH LEVEL EXPERTS AND INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS IN THE COUNCIL AND SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALLIANCE. THE STUDY WAS DISCUSSED AND APPROVED AT THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT ON 31ST MAY, 1978.

THE STUDY TAKES AS ITS TIME FRAME THE PERIOD UP TO THE LATE 1980'S. IT HAS THREE PARTS. PART I CONTAINS A FORWARD-LOOKING ANALYSIS OF TRENDS IN SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN POLICIES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO FACTORS OF DIRECT RELEVANCE TO THE CONDUCT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE FIELDS COVERED INCLUDE INTERNAL ECONOMIC, SOCIO-POLITICAL AND MILITARY TRENDS; TRENDS IN SOVIET-EAST EUROPEAN RELATIONS; AND AIMS, TOOLS AND TACTICS OF THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. PART II PROVIDES AN OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE 1980'S, INCLUDING THEIR POWER, POLICIES AND INTENTIONS AND THEIR REACTIONS TO EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS. PART III CONSIDERS THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE OF THE TRENDS AND ASSESSMENTS

SET OUT IN THE PREVIOUS TWO PARTS.

THE STUDY RECOGNISES THAT UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COMING YEARS MAKE FIRM PREDICTIONS BOTH DIFFICULT AND UNWISE. NEVERTHELESS, THE EVIDENCE SUGGESTS THAT THE BASIC CONTINUITY OF THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES IS UNLIKELY TO BE BROKEN. THE INTENSIFICATION OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERACTION BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN COUNTRIES, WHICH HAS BEEN EVIDENT OVER THE PAST DECADE, IS LIKELY TO BE MAINTAINED; BUT THE SOVIET UNION CAN BE EXPECTED

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TO CONTINUE TO ATTACH HIGH PRIORITY TO ITS MILITARY STRENGTH AND BE READY TO DEVOTE TO IT WHATEVER RESOURCES THEY CONSIDER THEIR OVERALL POLICIES REQUIRE.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE STUDY CONFIRMS THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF THE TWO COMPLEMENTARY AIMS OF THE ALLIANCE: MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY SECURITY AND THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE. IN THE FACE OF THE STEADY MILITARY BUILD-UP BY THE SOVIET UNION, THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO ENSURE AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF DETERRENCE AND DEFENCE, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THEIR SECURITY AND TO DISCOURAGE ANY TEMPTATION FOR OTHERS TO TRANSLATE THEIR MILITARY STRENGTH INTO EXPANSION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE. THE MAINTENANCE OF A SATISFACTORY MILITARY BALANCE IS A PRE-REQUISITE FOR THE SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF DETENTE.

AT THE SAME TIME THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD
MAINTAIN THEIR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE THE IMPROVEMENT OF
THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.
IN PARTICULAR THEY SHOULD PURSUE THEIR WORK FOR PROGRESS
IN ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE
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SECURITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES. THEY SHOULD
ALSO SEEK TO EXPAND CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND
EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN ALL FIELDS, INCLUDING THE
DEVELOPMENT OF GREATER EAST-WEST ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE.
THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT CONTINUES TO PROVIDE A VALUABLE
MEANS OF MONITORING AND ENCOURAGING PROGRESS IN DETENTE.
THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND
MILITARY FACTORS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS WILL NEED TO
BE KEPT CAREFULLY IN MIND.

THE STUDY HAS REAFFIRMED THE CONVICTION OF THE ALLIES
THAT THEIR ALLIANCE CONSTITUTES A FIRM GUARANTEE OF
THE SECURITY AND FREEDOM OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES
AND OF PEACE. BENNETT

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